

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 00493 01 OF 03 191509Z

45

ACTION ACDA-19

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 0493

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: MBFR AD HOC GROUP MEETING, JANUARY
17, 1974

FROM US REP MBFR

SUMMARY. THE AHG MEETING OF JANUARY 17, CHAIRED
BY BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN), CONSIDERED THE FOL-
LOWING SUBJECTS: DANISH REP WAS APPROVED AS CHAIR-
MAN FOR NEXT WEEK'S AHG MEETINGS DUE TO ABSENCE OF
CANADIAN REP, WHO WILL TAKE HIS TURN LATER; US
REP AGREED TO DELIVER NEXT ALLIED STATEMENT
AT 24 JANUARY PLENARY. OWING WARSAW PACT INSISTENCE,
TWO PLENARIES WILL BE HELD NEXT WEEK, BUT GROUP DECIDED NO
ALLIED STATEMENT SHOULD BE DELIVERED AT THE 22 JANUARY PLENARY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 00493 01 OF 03 191509Z

AHG HEARD REPORTS ON BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH SOVIETS FROM

BELGIAN REP, US DEP REP (SEPTTEL) AND US REP (SEPTTEL), AND DISCUSSED SOVIET STATEMENT DELIVERED AT 17 JANUARY PLENARY. AHG REVIEWED WP PRESS STATEMENT (SEPTTEL) DELIVERED BY CZECH REP ON 17 JANUARY, AND CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS INFERIOR TO THAT HELD BY NETHERLANDS REP FOR ALLIES ON JANUARY 14. THE TACTICS PAPER (VIENNA 0401) WAS ADOPTED WITH TWO SMALL CHANGES (SEPTTEL) BY MEMBERS OF THE AHG. UK REP ADOPTED IT AD REFERENDUM. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE PAPER WOULD BE FORWARDED TO THE NAC AS AN ANNEX TO THE WEEKLY AHG CHAIRMAN'S REPORT. AN OUTLINE OF THE SECOND PRESENTATION "US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS", PREPARED BY THE US DELEGATION WAS BRIEFLY REVIEWED BY THE AHG AND FORWARDED AS GUIDANCE FOR THE DRAFTING GROUP. AHG AGREED TO HOLD NEXT MEETING IMMEDIATELY AFTER 22 JANUARY PLENARY. END SUMMARY.

1. ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS. DENMARK WAS APPROVED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NEXT AHG MEETING, TO BE HELD AFTER THE PLENARY ON JANUARY 22, REPLACING CANADA, WHOSE REP WILL BE ABSENT FROM VIENNA. THE UK PROPOSED THAT THE US WOULD BE THE MOST APPROPRIATE COUNTRY TO GIVE THE SECOND WESTERN PLENARY, PRESENTATION GIVING THE WESTERN CASE FOR INITIAL FOCUS ON US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS. THIS WAS AGREED. THE PRESENTATION WILL TAKE PLACE ON JANUARY 24.

2. FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES. THE CHAIRMAN (BELGIAN REP ADIAENSSEN) REPORTED THAT HE HAD BROACHED SUBJECT OF FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES WITH SOVIET DEP REP MEMBER SMIRNOVSKY ON JANUARY 16 AND THAT HIS RESPONSE HAD BEEN THE SAME AS THE ONE HE GAVE UK REP ROSE ON JANUARY 15 (SEPTTEL), THAT THE EAST PREFERRED TO CONTINUE WITH THE PRESENT SCHEDULE OF TWO A WEEK. SMIRNOVSKY CLAIMED THIS WOULD CONVEY TO THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION A SENSE THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS HARD AT WORK. BELGIAN REP REPLIED THAT UNEVENTFUL PLENARIES COULD CREATE AN EVEN WORSE IMPRESSION. SMIRNOVSKY INDICATED THAT HE HIMSELF DID NOT FEEL TOO STRONGLY ABOUT THIS MATTER AND WOULD DISCUSS IT WITH HIS EAST EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES.

3. THE US DEP REP SATED THAT, AFTER BELGIAN REP HAD TOLD HIM THAT TWO PLENARIES HAD BEEN OFFICIALLY REQUESTED FOR THE NEXT WEEK, HE AND US REP HAD CALLED ON (VIENNA 0453 FOR DETAILS) SOV REP KHLESTOV AND DELOFF KVVITSINSKIY SHORTLY BEFORE PLENARY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 00493 01 OF 03 191509Z

ON JANUARY 17 TO REITERATE THE WESTERN VIEW ON THE DESIRABILITY OF HOLDING FEWER PLENARY MEETINGS AND DEVOTING MORE TIME TO MORE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS. TO LATTER POINT, KHLESTOV HAD COMMENTED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE OPEN-ENDED MEETINGS WOULD BE USEFUL AT THIS STAGE -- HE PREFERRED INFORMAL SOCIAL OCCASIONS WITH ROTATING PARTICIPANTS. ON THE PLENARY ISSUE, KHLESTOV SAID THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD MET AND DECIDED TO CONTINUE

FULL SCHEDULE OF PLENARIES. FOUR PRESENTATIONS HAD ALREADY BEEN WORKED OUT. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT NOT ALL WESTERN DELEGATIONS APPEARED TO BE IN AGREEMENT WITH REDUCING THE NUMBER OF PLENARIES. THE US REP DENIED ANY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AMONG WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. AT THE END OF THE MEETING KHLESTOV SAID THE EAST WOULD RECONSIDER THE QUESTION. KVITSINSKIY HAD GIVEN INDICATION THAT THE FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES MIGHT BE TIED TO PROGRESS MADE IN INFORMAL SESSIONS.

4. IN DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE SOVIET POSITION ON PLENARIES, BELGIAN REP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SOVIETS WANTED TO PRESERVE A HIGH FACADE OF PLENARIES BEHIND WHICH THEY COULD CONDUCT

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 00493 02 OF 03 191533Z

41

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 0493

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIET

POINT OF VIEW CONTRASTED WITH THE EARLIER STATEMENT BY THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) THAT TWO MEETINGS A WEEK WERE NOT NECESSARY. HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS WERE TRYING TO PUT THE BLAME FOR ANY REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF PLENARIES ON THE WEST. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT THINK THAT IT WAS A POSITION WHICH THE SOVIETS HELD VERY STRONGLY.

5. BILATERALS. THE BELGIAN REP REPORTED THAT HIS JANUARY 16 CONVERSATION WITH SOV DEP REP SMIRNOVSKY REFLECTED CONTINUING SOVIET INTEREST IN (A) NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AIRCRAFT AND (B) THE COMMON CEILING. THE SOVIETS WERE VERY STRONG IN INSISTING THAT TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AIRCRAFT BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. WITH REGARD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 00493 02 OF 03 191533Z

TO THE COMMON CEILING, THEY WONDERED WHETHER IT COULD BE RELATED IN SOME WAY TO THEIR CONCERN TO KEEP THE BUNDESWEHR WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS. ADRIAENSSEN REPLIED THAT DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION WAS APPROPRIATE FOR THE SECOND PHASE.

6. THE US DEP REP THEN DESCRIBED HIS CONVERSATION ON JANUARY 16 WITH SOV DEL OFF KVITSINSKIY (TEXT OF REPORT SEPTTEL), THE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF WHICH WERE: (A) THAT THE SOVIETS APPEARED STILL INTERESTED IN THE TWO PHASE CONCEPT IF THEY COULD GET THE NECESSARY ASSURANCES; AND (B) STRONG EMPHASIS ON INCLUDING AIR FORCES IN REDUCTIONS. KVITSINSKIY HAD BEEN CONCERNED WITH THE FRG REP'S ALLEGED STATEMENTS THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO SUB-CEILINGS ON EUROPEAN FORCES AND THAT THERE MIGHT BE NO FRG REDUCTIONS BEFORE 1977.

7. FRG REP DENIED HAVING MADE EITHER OF THESE TWO STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM BY KVITSINSKIY. HE, HAD TOLD KVITSINSKIY THAT DISCUSSION OF SUB-CEILINGS OR NO SUB-CEILINGS WAS APPROPRIATE TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION PHASE II. US DEP REP COMMENTED THAT THIS APPEARED THE CORRECT RESPONSE IN CIRCUMSTANCES, OTHERWISE ALLIES WOULD GET INTO NEGOTIATION OF PHASE II RIGHT AWAY.

8. REFERRING TO THE TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN US DEP REP AND SOVIET DEL OFF KVITSINSKIY, WHICH WAS DISTRIBUTED TO THE AHG, THE ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) THOUGHT SEVERAL POINTS WERE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE: (A) HE THOUGHT THAT KVITSINSKIY'S STATEMENT THAT FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES COULD

BE A PRODUCTIVE LINE TO FOLLOW IF THE SOVIETS RECEIVED SUFFICIENT ASSURANCES ABOUT PHASE II, APPEARED TO INDICATE A POSITIVE ATTITUDE. US DEP REP RECALLED THAT THE ASSURANCES DEMANDED BY SOVIETS WERE NUMEROUS AND INCLUDED MANY ALLIES WERE NOT READY TO GIVE (B) ITALIAN REP BELIEVED THE SOVIET OPPOSITION TO SUB-CEILINGS HAD EMERGED MORE CLEARLY IN THIS CONVERSATION THAN IN THE PAST
SECRET

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 00493 02 OF 03 191533Z

(C) SOVIET DEL HAD BEEN MORE EXPLICIT THAN HERETOFORE IN STATING THAT SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT COMMON CEILING IF AIR FORCE MANPOWER WERE INCLUDED (D) THE ITALIAN REP BELIEVED THAT KVITSINSKIY'S STATEMENT THAT SOVIET REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE MORE THAN ONE YEAR TO IMPLEMENT MIGHT IMPLY SOVIET AGREEMENT THAT THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BEGIN AFTER THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS. THE US DEP REP STATED THAT IN HIS OPINION KVITSINSKIY MIGHT BE CITING THIS TIME LAG TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED TO GET TO PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OR TO INDICATE SOVIETS MIGHT TAKE POSITION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE COMPLETED UNTIL PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN SATISFACTORILY CONCLUDED. THE FRG REP COMMENTED THAT KVITSINSKIY HAD TOLD HIM THAT FOR LOGISTIC REASONS THE USSR COULD WITHDRAW TROOPS ONLY AT THE RATE OF 20,000 A YEAR. THIS WAS WHY, PRESUMABLY, THE FIGURE 20,000 HAD BEEN CHOSEN FOR INITIAL REDUCTIONS IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL.

9. FRG REP CONCLUDED THAT WHAT APPEARED TO BOTHER THE SOVIETS MOST WAS THE PROSPECT THAT THERE MIGHT BE NO SUB-CEILING ON THE BUNDESWEHR. IN KVITSINSKIY'S CASE, HOWEVER, PREOCCUPATION WITH GERMANY MIGHT ALSO REFLECT HIS LONG BACKGROUND IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS.

10. FIRST EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT. THE CHAIRMAN (BELGIAN REP) REQUESTED THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER REPS ON THE FIRST EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN BY THE SOVIET REP THAT MORNING (JANUARY 17). HE SAID THAT HE HIMSELF HAD FOUND THE STATEMENT TO BE A MODERATE EXPRESSION OF EASTERN VIEWS WITHOUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AS SUCH. THE US DEP REP AGREED THAT IT WAS A MODERATE IF NOT ROUTINE STATEMENT BUT NOTED THAT IT INCLUDED ALL THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE UK REP THOUGHT THE

SECRET

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 00493 03 OF 03 191607Z

45

ACTION ACDA-19

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 0493

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

SOVIET STATEMENT NOT VERY GOOD EVEN AS EXPRESSION OF
EASTERN VIEWS AND FELT THAT THE WESTERN PRESENTATION HAD BEEN
VERY GOOD IN COMPARISON. THE ITALIAN REP THOUGHT THERE
MIGHT BE SOME SIGNIFICANCE IN THE SOV REP'S REFERENCE
TO THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS "IN THEIR
PRESENT FORM". HE THOUGHT THIS MIGHT BE A SUGGESTION OF
SOME SLIGHT FLEXIBILITY.

11. PRESS CONFERENCE BY CZECH REP KLEIN. REFERRING
TO THE PRESS CONFERENCE (SEPTTEL) GIVEN AFTER
JANUARY 17 PLENARY BY CZECHOSLOVAK REP KLEIN, THE
UK REP SAID THAT REPORTERS PRESENT FELT THAT
KLEIN CREATED A GENERALLY NEGATIVE IMPRESSION BY
EVADING DIRECT ANSWER TO ALMOST ALL QUESTIONS.
THE FRG REP WONDERED WHY THE EAST FELT COMPELLED
TO GIVE A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME SINCE THEY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 00493 03 OF 03 191607Z

HAD GIVEN ONE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PREVIOUS SERIES OF PLENARIES IN DECEMBER. THE US DEP REP THOUGHT THAT THE DESIRE FOR NATIONAL EXPOSURE ON PART OF CZECHS MIGHT BE ONE REASON, AND THAT A PACT DESIRE TO OFFSET THE GOOD PRESS COVERAGE GIVEN TO AMBASSADOR QUARLES' PRESENTATION ON JANUARY 14 MIGHT BE ANOTHER.

12. PAPER ON TACTICS. THE AHG ACCEPTED, WITH UK AGREEING AD REFERENDUM, THE US PAPER ON TACTICS (VIENNA 0401) WITH TWO SMALL CHANGES (SEPTTEL). IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT THE PAPER SHOULD BE FORWARDED TO THE NAC FOR INFORMATION, AS AN ANNEX TO THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR THE WEEK JANUARY 14-18. THE MEMBERS OF THE NAC SHOULD HAVE COPIES BEFORE THE ORAL PRESENTATION BY THE AHG REP TO THE NAC ON 25 JANUARY. THE UK REP BELIEVED THAT HE COULD GET INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT BY THE TIME THE PAPER WAS TRANSMITTED TO NAC AND THOUGHT UNANIMOUS AHG APPROVAL OF THE PAPER WOULD HELP HIM IN THIS REGARD.

13. OUTLINE OF SECOND WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATION. THE AHG QUICKLY REVIEWED AND FORWARDED TO A DRAFTING GROUP AN OUTLINE OF THE SECOND WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATION, TO BE GIVEN ON 24 JANUARY. THE PRESENTATION IN SUPPORT OF THE WESTERN POSITION ADVOCATING FIRST-PHASE REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES. THE UK REP SUGGESTED THAT THE PRESENTATION INCLUDE SOME CRITICISM OF THE FIRST EASTERN PRESENTATION AND THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) ADDED THAT IF TIME PERMITTED, THE PRESENTATION MIGHT ALSO INCLUDE CRITICISM OF THE SECOND EASTERN PROPOSAL PRESENTATION, SCHEDULED BY POLAND ON JANUARY 22.

14. FRG WHITE PAPER. FRG REP ANNOUNCED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOW ISSUED ITS WHITE PAPER ON DEFENSE. SO FAR, ONLY GERMAN TEXT HAD BEEN ISSUED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION EXPECTED IN ABOUT THREE MONTHS. FRG REP SAID OFFICIALS WHO HAD PREPARED CHAPTER DEALING ON DATA HAD TRIED TO MAKE FRG
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 00493 03 OF 03 191607Z

DATA COMPATIBLE WITH THAT BEING CITED BY WEST IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND SAID CHAPTER ALSO STRESSED DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FORCES.

15. THE AHG AGREED TO RECONVENE UNDER THE CHAIR-
MANSHIP OF DENMARK FOLLOWING THE PLENARY SESSION
SCHEDULED FOR THE MORNING OF JANUARY 22. HUMES

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